1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

purging his shame by challenging his accusers to "kalukak." He did this [575]
by procuring from a friend a three-dollar pig for which he paid the 681
excessive price of a five-dollar moko, after his friend had gone through 627
a ceremonial dunning procedure (nalael, nalwaw; literally, follow me, call to me). Then he went to the two kinsmen of the girl with a group of supporting relatives who bore ceremonial spears and horns. They stood on the dance place and shouted challenge, demanding that the three-dollar pig be paid for with a six-dollar-and-fifty-cent moko. This was finally paid to Mangma so that ultimately he received one dollar [645]
and fifty cents as a fine for the insult leveled at him. This was not pure profit since he had to pay his allies a series of six graded payments for their support.

Refusal to meet such a challenge and pay the exorbitant price demanded for a pig so presented is a source of shame and an admission of [535]
financial defeat comparable, on a smaller scale, to that of a wealth contest. As in a wealth contest such a procedure does not result in any financial gain to the winner. In fact, the winner is apt to lose in the long run because of his obligations to supporters. Profit, more than [83]
reciprocity or potlatching, is the ideal of Alorese economy. Formerly only the breakdown of the profit system led to either of the other two systems of financial manipulation. This may explain why they were and are so rarely used and why litigation was so rapidly accepted once [777]
it was introduced. During the eighteen months in Atimelang only one case of the old kalukak system occurred. This was the outgrowth of a quarrel between two brothers who had exchanged wives. The younger brother was an unwilling partner in the exchange and gave his new wife to a friend who in turn offered him refuge against his older brother. The two friends lived together for a time but fought over the possession of the woman. There was a litigation in which the friend and the runaway brother were judged equally guilty. Instead of a fine, the chief ordered both men to be tied up for a day. The friend was so incensed at the duplicity and so shamed by the punishment that he began kalukak proceedings against the younger brother, who had meanwhile taken his wife and returned to his own village, where he made peace with his older brother.

WAR

It is quite obvious that there might be occasions where the hard deal- 686
ing and chicanery openly admired in Atimelang finances reach a point 627
that drives certain individuals to physical violence and murder. This in [721]
turn often precipitates war. Once under way, a war can drag on for years in a series of retaliations, which are also given their financial cut-